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SUBJECT: MFA Paper Outlines Foreign Policy Objectives

Ref: Khartoum 00823

¶1. Summary: During the April 1-5 MFA ambassadorial corps conference (reftel), the ministry circulated a thought piece on the future of Sudanese foreign policy. Its key points are as follows: Sudan is entering a new era following the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, Sudan must thus review its foreign policy. Under the Interim National Constitution, Sudan's foreign policy is to stress cooperation, integration, human rights, dialogue as a means of resolving disputes, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other states, and fighting organized crime and terrorism. Sudan's Afro-Arab character is key to the development of its ties, which will continue to focus on neighboring states. While progress has been made with Egypt and Libya, relations with Ethiopia are sound, while those with Chad and Eritrea are tense.

¶2. Relations with the U.S. are at a critical period, with performance below ambitions. Hence Sudan will strive to achieve a common understanding on issues. Sudan will work in particular to develop its relations with Canada, Brazil, and Argentina; China, India, Malaysia, and Pakistan; and South Korea, Indonesia, and Japan. As well, relations with the EU and within the UN are key. The problem of Darfur needs to be solved, in part due to its negative effect on international relations. Finally, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will address the internal issues of compensation, career tracks, and training. End summary.

¶3. The text of the paper is as follows (unofficial Embassy translation):

(Begin text)

REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

THE DELIBERATING CONFERENCE BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS - KHARTOUM, APRIL 1-5, 2006

A PAPER ON FOREIGN POLICY:

Our country is entering into a new phase at the beginning of implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement; it is characterized by more openness to all components of the Sudanese community and it truthfully expresses its cultural and ethnic diversity.

Definitely, these present facts should be reflected in a way or another on the State's policies in various domains. This necessitates a review the shape of the foreign policy of the country during the transitional period.

Whereas the principles ruling foreign policy have never been controversial between the various elements of the

society, this policy will be based on the principles that were stated in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the Interim National Constitution of the country in addition to the events of the past quarter century and the laws that rule jurisdictions and goals of the federal ministries and other documents pertaining to the nation's external challenges.

The Interim National Constitution of the Republic of the Sudan determined seven objectives of the foreign policy during the transitional period; they can be summarized as follows:

- Promotion of international cooperation, consolidating universal peace, and respect for international law and fostering a just world economic order.
- Achievement of African and Arab economic integration and promotion of African and Arab unity and Afro-Arab cooperation.
- Enhancement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in regional and international forums.
- Promotion of dialogue among civilizations and establishment of international order based on justice.
- Enhancement of economic cooperation among countries of the South.
- Non-interference in the affairs of other States, promotion of good neighborliness and mutual cooperation with all neighbors, and maintaining amicable and balanced

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relations with other countries.

- Combating international and transnational organized crime and terrorism.

For realizing the abovementioned goals, Sudan, like other states, interacts viably with its regional and international communities.

Normally, the factors of geography and history rule Sudan's actions in the domain of foreign policy where its Afro-Arab affiliation has been one of the most important basics of our foreign policy.

For realizing our lofty objectives in the desired way and to allow citizens to reap great benefits, it was necessary to utilize our resources in the most ideal way and according to clear priorities for effective action in various circles of our foreign policy.

Directly neighboring states represent the most important circle for us because the developments witnessed in these states are directly reflected in the security and stability of our country.

Sudan has always been seeking and will be seeking, Inshallah, in the future to maintain excellent relations with these states, without any exception, based on good neighborliness, respect for other peoples' choices, and realizing mutual interests.

We view development of our relations with most of these states as satisfactory; we have taken broad strides toward realizing integration with the sisterly Arab Republic of Egypt and the Arab Libyan Jamahiriya.

Our cooperation with Ethiopia has greatly advanced; joint committees have been established at the highest levels to realize cooperation in all domains.

There is tenseness in our relations with some states, such as Eritrea and Chad, due to internal problems that trespassed the international borders.

Certainly, we are seeking to normalize these relations based on principles of good neighborliness and non-interference in internal affairs; all exchanged visits with Eritrea are based on this pattern.

The Tripoli Agreement was concluded with Chad, and efforts to implement it are ongoing.

The presence of the LRA "Lord's Resistance Army" in Southern Sudan has negatively our relations with sisterly Uganda.

We are determined to end it, and we hope that the leaders of this movement would listen to the voice of reason and would seek to resolve their problems with the Ugandan government through dialogue and amicable methods.

The sisterly Arab states have all been a support to Sudan since its independence in 1956, which we greatly appreciate.

We commend the Arab League resolution on establishing a special fund for support of peace in Southern Sudan and in the war-affected areas. We also appreciate the Arab states support that has been and is still offered at the bilateral level.

Sudan will always be close to what is going in the Arab world. Hence, we follow with deep concern, denouncing the terror and killing committed against the Palestinian people. Also, we are observing with concern ongoing incidents and pray for God to grant stability for this important Arab country and to bring about peace and tranquility for its sisterly people.

Sudan has mediated between Syria and Lebanon. The role of Sudan has been reinforced in its African and Arab domain by convening the two groups' summits in Khartoum on January and March of this year.

Our absolute belief in the unity of destiny remains our guide in all our actions in the continent of Africa. We will work in the forthcoming era to set our potentials under the brothers' disposal in Africa for realizing ambitions of the citizens of the continent in terms of construction and development. Sudan, after overcoming the problem of war with its south, will also play a significant role in regional and semi-regional

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institutions - and we have contributed in establishing most of them - in realizing development, prosperity, and sober rule.

We are pleased that some of these organizations have played an effective role in realizing peace in our country; they include the IGAD, Arab League, and the African Union, the last of which we welcome for the great role played by its peace mission in Darfur.

From our side, we will keep on providing all possible support to the AU Mission to perform its role.

Sudan has stood against all attempts for belittling the AU's role and transferring the peace process in Darfur to the UN.

The conference will discuss a number of issues related to our relations with African states. There will be a special session on relations with neighboring states, the AU role, and the map of diplomatic representation in the continent.

The relations with the United States and the European states represent one of our utmost concerns to benefit from the economic and political weights of this group and seeking to realize objectives of our foreign policy.

Our relations with the United States have witnessed a critical period during the past few years. Although the progress achieved in this domain is still below our ambitions, the upcoming period will witness constant efforts from our side to reach common understanding with the American Government on the most ideal means for handling points of American concerns related to the internal developments in Sudan, regional stability, and combating terrorism.

We will also endeavor toward developing our relations with other important States in the two continents of North and South America, such as Canada, Brazil, and Argentina.

Sudan's peace process involved an introduction of European states to Sudan again after a several-year boycott.

Signing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement led to remarkable enhancement in Sudanese-European relations in spite of the complexities caused by the Darfur crisis.

We will continue our dialogue with the European Union and its states toward completion of our efforts for restoring the frozen rights of Sudan in the Lome and Cotonou Agreements, resumption of development aid, and work for writing off debt.

Our relations with the Asian states are flourishing; this has been evidently reflected in rise of the size of Asian investments from states such as China, India, Malaysia, and Pakistan, particularly in the domain of oil production.

The volume of trade exchanges has also risen with states such as South Korea and Indonesia, while our relations with Japan witnesses promising developments; last year several Japanese delegations visited the country and discussed issues of economic cooperation.

Moreover, we have commenced important contacts with the Japanese government for handling Sudan's debt.

Developing relations with the Asian states would be one of our concerns in the transitional period, particularly that these states presently occupy high position in the world economy.

Implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement "CPA" is considered the first duty of the Government of National Unity during the transitional period. Hence, performing the duties linked to the implementation of the peace agreement toward relationships with the external world represents a top priority in our move with the United Nations and the international community as a whole.

The United Nations Mission in Sudan is considered at the top of the circles we are dealing with in this regard; we particularly work to reactivate the national mechanism for dealing with the mission after we signed an agreement on the status of forces (SOFA) that rules the relationship between the government and the mission.

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Sudan has good heritage in cooperation with the international community in the domain of humanitarian affairs. Our dealing with the voluntary organizations

and the UN operating in this domain in Darfur will be objective. We will also work with the international community under circumstances characterized by the obvious shrinkage in size of humanitarian assistance; this is to guarantee the provision of the required relief commodities, particularly in Southern Sudan due to the voluntary repatriation of refugees and displaced persons in light of the implementation of the peace agreement and the transition from the relief phase into the phase of development and rehabilitation.

Last year, the United Nations celebrated its sixtieth anniversary. Recently, some important issues regarding the role of the UN in the future and reconsideration of its structures to become more democratic and broadly representative have come about.

Sudan has worked through the African and Arab groups to present projects for reform of the UN to fit the role that developing states should play. These developing states have succeeded on the issue of the UN General Assembly resolution on establishing the International Council for Human Rights; geographical representation will be fair in it and its work will be kept away from selectivity and political purposes.

Our efforts will continue in coordination with the developing states for completion of the reform process in the United Nations, particularly in expanding the Security Council in a way that guarantees just representation of Third World states.

In seeking to develop our relations with the international community, we will exert our utmost efforts for cooperation with the Security Council to implement its resolutions regarding our country, particularly Resolutions No. 1590 and 1591 in a way that would not harm our sovereignty. We will double our communications with the international financial institutions for handling the debt issue and will continue our efforts for joining the World Trade Organization.

Our country is entering into a new political phase; during this phase we will promote values of human rights, transparency, and general freedoms. Hence, we, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in coordination with the concerned authorities, will crystallize a positive official position toward Sudan's ratification of the international agreements in the domain of human rights. This will open the door widely for international cooperation and benefits from technical and economic assistance.

Pursuant to the Interim National Constitution provisions, we hope to move from the position of defense to the position of positive work with the international community to elevate values of human rights, transparency, and democracy.

Thus, our delegations participant in international conferences and forums will be directed to work for this goal.

Probably one of the top priorities in the duties of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at all times is the concern of Sudanese communities abroad, welfare of their individuals' interests, and working to link them to the important developments in their country.

Today, the reasons that led to alienation between people of Sudan abroad and their country in the past are over now. During the transitional period, we will give more attention to issues involving the category of these citizens in light of the promises made by the state to facilitate their stay abroad and their return back home.

One of the essential issues that the Ministry will undertake in this domain is to contribute to the

refugees' voluntary repatriation from neighboring states after the realization of peace.

Moreover, we have taken some steps to facilitate the process of aliens' entry into the country. This is after the approval of a constitutional that is characterized by political and economic openness and in light of our expectations of foreign investors' inflow in to the country.

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The Darfur issue remains a worry to us in dealing with the international community; this crisis has been an introduction for attack against Sudan and distortion of its image abroad.

Despite the great efforts the government has exerted in this regard, not finding a final solution for the problem would greatly weaken our position in the international arena, particularly since the UN and the international community are closely observing what is going in Darfur.

Although any positive signs in the UN Secretary General's reports to the Security Council basically depend on developments on the ground, a heavy task is borne by the Foreign Ministry in changing the distorted image about the country.

From our side, we will work to exploit every opportunity to penetrate the international community. But this undoubtedly requires precise coordination with the other circles in the National Unity Government to guarantee absolute harmony between the external movement and the internal movement.

Sudanese diplomacy has succeeded in persuading the African Union not to transfer its duties in Darfur to the United Nations except upon the approval of the Government of Sudan and after reaching a peace agreement. We have to bear a heavy burden in the Ministry to confront the campaign led by some influential states to place Darfur under the international forces' authority.

Enhancement of the image of Sudan abroad, which has been affected by the abovementioned disturbed situation in the country, whether it is the war in the south or in Darfur, needs redoubled media efforts.

Even though the greatest part of the burden in this domain should be borne by other circles in the National Unity Government, the Foreign Ministry undertakes a great role; this is based on the widespread nature of its diplomatic missions abroad.

For achieving this significant role, we have to endeavor to focus on the weight of media areas abroad; this would enable us to transmit our message appropriately.

As we will also work to open channels for dealing with the widespread Arab and foreign mass media and with the world international news agencies and their resident correspondents in Khartoum. This effort needs a high degree of coordination to ensure that the accurate media message has reached the objective it targets.

Based on its jurisdictions in the domain of Sudan's external relations, the Ministry undertakes the duty of coordination and follow-up vertically with the Presidency of the Republic, Council of Ministers, and the two Legislative Councils - the National Assembly and the Council of States; and horizontally with the Ministries, institutions, corporations, and concerned organs on relevant issues, external dimension within the framework of bilateral relations with the world states, international and regional cooperation, and world issues

with the other concerned specialized international and regional organizations.

All these are carried on by the communications conducted by the leadership of the Ministry, its expert departments and our missions abroad.

Due to the upcoming period, which is full of challenges from various directions, we, from our side, will work to coordinate precisely with the government circles to guarantee appropriate implementation of foreign policy.

Our conference will convene a special session for this matter, and we hope it would find the solutions for all the problems we are facing in this regard.

We would not be able to achieve our ambitious goals in the domain of external work during the transitional period but through the provision of a supportive and satisfactory work environment. This would encourage the workers at the Ministry to perform their duties enthusiastically and to exert their utmost efforts.

Of course, improvement of the work environment can come about by confronting the administrative problems from which the Ministry suffers. The administrative distortions in the job structures within the Ministry's bureaus is the most important. This will be addressed by

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reviewing the present structure, preparing new job structures, and employing intermediate and higher-level diplomatic cadres in accordance with the restrictions and conditions in force and in compliance with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.

The salary scale will also be handled with great concern to find a radical treatment, as it is extremely weak. This would reassure and provide a sense of stability among employees.

For addressing the requirements of the application of the federal system, the Ministry has taken concrete steps toward opening sub-offices in Juba, El Fasher, and Port Sudan to regulate the foreign diplomatic presence in these areas and to offer advice and consultation to the state governments in regard to dealing with the foreign presence.

Perhaps one of the most important sides for correcting the work environment is through exerting effort to provide training to all workers in the Ministry, whether diplomats or not.

During the past few years, the Ministry has been able to double the amount of opportunities for external training of diplomats in collaboration with several states in various parts of the world. The Ministry has also given attention to internal training; during the transitional period, we will work to double the training opportunities to include all workers in the Ministry. In this regard, we will review missions and methods of the National Diplomatic Center to conduct internal training.

We will also give more concern to the social aspects of employees, such as health insurance and collective transportation.

We will inaugurate some social facilities and lay the foundation for others, such as a school and a sports compound.

In seeking promotion of work auxiliaries, we will implement important projects. This has started with expansion in the Ministry's premises, as well as the provision of equipment and essential furniture for the

workers' comfort.

As we are also seeking at the same time to realize the objective of establishing an electronic government that is supported by the highest authorities in the country.

We will work to modernize the means of communications that link the headquarters with missions abroad and to establish a comprehensive database for facilities and embassies.

We seek to make advancements with respect to the information revolution to benefit from the tremendous potentials available to upgrade the effectiveness of Sudanese diplomacy.

The concepts stated in this paper affirm that Sudan's relations with the international community have greatly ramified and covered many fields at bilateral, regional, and international levels.

Fortunately, we are approaching a new era that comes at the end of the war with the South that is full of indications of soon reaching resolution of all other problems of Sudan. This would assist in releasing the country from the fetters that have been chaining it for many years.

We are optimistic that the forthcoming years would witness a genuine explosion of energies of which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to realize the state's goals in citizens' development and prosperity.

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STEINFELD